

Message Text

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 NSA-01 ACDA-05 ERDA-05

AF-06 ARA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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INFO USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

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SUBJECT: GROMYKO'S SEPTEMBER 23 UNGA SPEECH

REF: USUN 4431

1. SUMMARY. GROMYKO'S SEPTEMBER 23 UNGA SPEECH WILL HAVE REFLECTED THE RESULTS OF HIS U.S. MEETINGS, AND IS IN GENERAL MARKED BY CAUTION AND CAREFUL DRAFTING, BUT WE ARE STRUCK BY A NUMBER OF POINTS. USE OF FUTURE RATHER THAN CONDITIONAL TENSE WITH REFERENCE TO 25TH PARTY CONGRESS FOREIGN POLICY APPROACH, SALT AND MBFR MAY SIGNAL MORE DETERMINATION TO MOVE FORWARD THAN WE HAD EXPECTED. DEFENSE OF DETENTE AGAINST ENEMIES WHO HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE TO OFFER

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COULD HAVE DOMESTIC AS WELL AS FOREIGN AUDIENCE.

INSISTENCE ON COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION IN MIDDLE EAST IS IN CONTRAST TO TRADITIONAL EMPHASIS ON STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH IN DISARMAMENT, WHICH IS CENTERPIECE OF PRESENTATION. FORMAL PROPOSAL TO INSCRIBE BREZHNEV'S EXOTICS BAN SURPRISES US, BUT IS NOT FARFETCHED, SINCE POST-HELSINKI BREZHNEV BUILDUP CONTINUES HERE AND HIS EXOTICS BAN WAS ONLY CURRENT SOVIET ARMS CONTROL IDEA NOT YET DIGNIFIED BY FORMAL INTERNATIONAL INSCRIPTION SOMEWHERE. FINALLY, U.S. - SOVIET RELATIONS DOMINATE SPEECH AND PROVIDE ITS REAL THEME. END SUMMARY.

2. GROMYKO'S SEPTEMBER 23 UNGA SPEECH WILL HAVE INCORPORATED THE RESULTS OF HIS U.S. MEETINGS,. AND WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE DEPARTMENT'S ANALYSIS. IN GENERAL, SPEECH APPEARS MARKED BY CAUTION AND CAREFUL DRAFTING. FOLLOWING POINTS WHICH STRUCK US HERE MAY BE OF INTEREST, HOWEVER.

3. USE OF FUTURE RATHER THAN CONDITIONAL TENSE WITH REGARD TO CONGRESS FOREIGN POLICY APPROACH, SALT AND MBFR WOULD APPEAR TO SIGNAL GREATER DETERMINATION TO MOVE FORWARD IN THESE AREAS THAN MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED. THE LANGUAGE ON THE CONGRESS -- "THE USSR'S PRINCIPLED FOREIGN POLICY LINE WILL DOUBTLESS BE CONFIRMED AND DEVELOPED IN THE DECISIONS OF THE 25TH CONGRESS OF THE SOVIET COMMUNISTS' PARTY AT THE BEGINNING OF NEXT YEAR" IS THE CLOSEST WE HAVE SEEN THE LEADERSHIP COME TO PREDICTING AN OUTCOME. ON SALT, GROMYKO SAID "THE CONCLUSION (OF AN AGREEMENT) WILL BE A MAJOR NEW STEP FORWARD NOT ONLY IN SOVIET-AMERICAN BILATERAL RELATIONS BUT ON THE BROADER INTERNATIONAL PLANE." ON MBFR, GROMYKO PROMISED ONLY THAT THE SOVIET UNION "WILL CONTRIBUTE IN EVERY POSSIBLE WAY TO THE SUCCESS OF THE ONGOING VIENNA TALKS," BUT FUTURE TENSE IS AGAIN NOTABLE.

4. DEFENSE OF DETENTE AGAINST ITS ENEMIES FOLLOWING MENTION OF CHILE AND TWO RATHER SOUR PARAGRAPHS ON LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PORTUGAL COULD HAVE DOMESTIC AS WELL AS FORIEGN AUGIENCE: "BUT WHEN ONE ASKS ALL THOSE WHO TODAY COME OUT OPENLY OR HALF-OPENLY AGAINST THE REDUCTION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION WHAT ALTERNATIVES THEY PROPOSE. THEY CAN SAY NOTHING REASONABLE."

5. MIDDLE EAST PORTION SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN DRAFTED WITH ESPECIAL CARE FOLLOWING U.S. TALKS, BUT WE ARE STRUCK

BY CONTRAST BETWEEN SOVIET INSISTENCE ON COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION WITH PARTICIPATION OF ALL INTERESTED PARTIES IN MIDDLE EAST AND STRONG EMPHASIS ON STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH AND PRACTICABILITY IN DISARMAMENT SECTION, WHICH AFTER ALL FORMS CORE OF GROMYKO'S PRESENTATION. REFERENCE TO GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT AND WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE WHICH SHOULD "FOCUS" ON IT IS SANDWICHED BETWEEN CATALOGUE OF PREVIOUS UNGA DISARMAMENT INITIATIVES AND THE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR THIS YEAR'S SESSION.

6. FORMAL PROPOSAL TO INSCRIBE BREZHNEV'S EXOTICS BAN IS OF COURSE A SURPRISE TO US TOO (REFTEL), BUT IT IS NOT FARFETCHED IN SOVIET POLITICAL TERMS: BUILDUP OF BREZHNEV HAS CONTINUED UNABATED, WHATEVER ITS SIGNIFICANCE, SINCE HELSINKI; THOSE AMONG OUR SOVIET INTERLOCUTORS WHO SEE LITTLE SUBSTANCE IN THE PROPOSAL POINT OUT THAT IT IS HIS, AND THAT THEY ARE STUCK WITH IT; AND IT WAS THE ONE CURRENT ARMS CONTROL IDEA NOT YET DIGNIFIED BY FORMAL INSCRIPTION ON SOME INTERNATIONAL AGENDA.

7. FINALLY, THE IMPORTANCE OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS RUNS AS A THREAD THROUGH GROMYKO'S SPEECH. BY OUR COUNT IT IS MAENTIONED FOUR TIMES: IN THE INTRODUCTION, AFTER THE INDOCHINA-THIRD WORLD PORTION, RE SALT, AND IN INTRODUCING THE CTB PROPOSAL. IN EFFECT, IT BRACKETS THE SPEECH AS A WHOLE AND PROVIDES ITS THEME. WE ALSO NOTE THE TWO REFERENCES TO THE VALUE OF MEETINGS "AT HIGH LEVEL" AND -AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL." MATLOCK

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